THE MILITANT

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SOVIET "MOON" DISMAYS WALL STREET MILITARISTS

Candidates Of SWP on N. Y. Ballot

NEW YORK, Oct. 10 — With its place on the ballot now assured, the city-wide slate of the Socialist Workers Party has plunged into a full-scale schedule of activity to win electoral support for its socialist program.

SWP campaign manager, Carol Lynn, announced that the extensive plans for the campaign will be climaxed with a final election rally for the SWP nominees. Principal speaker will be Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, and a prominent West Coast labor and civil liberties attorney. That rally will be held Friday, Oct. 25 at Central Plaza, 111 Second Ave., New York City.

In Brooklyn the Tammany Hall machine succeeded in its carefully laid plan to get Alvin Berman, Socialist candidate for Borough President, ruled off the ballot. Although the Tammany wheelhorse, Joan Cashmore, will occupy the Democratic, Republican and Liberal Party lines on the ballot, his machine could not tolerate opposition. A rigged state election law was used by the election board, Oct. 7 to rule Berman off the ballot on the ground that his petition allegedly did not contain a sufficient number of valid signatures. Berman filed 2,051 signatures over the legally required minimum of 5,000.

Despite the reactionary decision to deny Berman his rightful place on the ballot, his campaign against Cashmore will continue. The Socialist Workers Party is urging a large write-in vote for Berman in protest against the scandalous move to turn the Brooklyn Borough Presidency contest into a plebiscite for Cashmore.

Carol Lynn expressed the warm thanks of the partys campaign committee to all those who had circulated and signed nominating petitions for the Socialist Workers ticket. "The excellent response to our petition drive," she said, "demonstrates that there is a real place in this campaign for an independent socialist ticket that will vigorously oppose the capitalist politicians and put forward a program that meets the needs of the workers and minority people of this city. And that's exactly the kind of a campaign we intend to run."

Miss Lynn said that a series of radio and TV appearances have already been scheduled for the Socialist Worker candidates which will assure their socialist program reaching a maximum number of people.

Joyce Cowley, candidate for Mayor, will be interviewed on Citizens Union Searchlight, WRCA-TV, Oct. 27 at 2 P.M. She will also be interviewed on Campus Press Conference over radio station WNYC on Sunday, Oct. 20 at 9 P.M. On Monday Oct. 28 at 11:20 P.M., she will be interviewed on the Tex and Jinx program on station WRCA.

Lillian Kiezel, candidate for President of the City Council will participate in a round table discussion on the New York City Council over radio station WRCA on Tuesday, Oct. 22 at 10:05 P.M.

A series of five statements by Joyce Cowley will be presented over radio station WNEW beginning Oct. 24, at 10:30 P.M.

The campaign committee is also conducting a series of Saturday night election meetings and social gatherings at campaign headquarters at 116 University Place. **On Sat. night, Oct. 19, Alvin Berman will speak on "Why Cashmore Had Me Ruled off the Ballot," and Morris Zuckoff, candidate for Comptroller, will discuss the issue of "The Role of Socialists in Election Campaigns."**

Rally Speakers

Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, will share the platform with Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers candidate for Mayor of New York, at a rally Friday, Oct. 25, at Central Plaza in New York.

Murry Weiss to Begin National Speaking Tour

OCT. 9 — The Socialist Workers Party announced today a coast-to-coast speaking tour by Murry Weiss that will begin on Oct. 19 in Cleveland, Ohio. He will speak to forums and public gatherings throughout the country on "The Future of Socialism in America."

Murry Weiss has been active in the socialist movement of this country for 31 years as an organizer, a writer and a lecturer. A former editor of both the Militant and the International Socialist Review, he is well qualified to evaluate the present stage of the struggle for socialism in America and to anticipate its future course.

He began his political activity as a leader of the Young Pioneers, in the 1920's. He played a leading role in the Young Communist League, the Spartacus Youth League and the Young People's Socialist League. At the age of 17 he was expelled from the YCL as a Trotskyist because of his opposition to the policies of the German Communist Party—policies that permitted Hitler to come to power in 1933.

In his present tour Weiss will discuss the crisis in the Communist Party and the regroupment of radical workers and youth for revolutionary socialism. The struggle in America against a third world war, the significance of scientific advance in military technology, the fight for civil rights and civil liberties and the economic prospects for the working class.

MURRY WEISS

The tour will take Weiss through the Midwest states to the West Coast. It will be concluded with speaking engagements on the East Coast, concluding in December in New York City.

Free Speech Fight Flares In Warsaw

By Myra Tanner Weiss

OCT. 8—The long campaign of the Gomulka regime to control Po Prostu, a leading Polish student weekly, which had played a prominent part in the struggle last fall against Kremlin domination of Poland, was climaxed with the banning of the paper altogether and the confiscation of its last issue. Several thousand students, gathered in demonstrations, Oct. 3, protested this government action and demanded the ban on Po Prostu be lifted and freedom of the press assured.

The government reacted by suspending college classes in Warsaw and hurling police, troops and militiamen at the students. For two days the struggle continued. On the afternoon of Oct. 5 some spokesmen for the students announced that there would be no more meetings or demonstrations; that further efforts to save Po Prostu would be made through "legal" channels.

MORE DEMONSTRATIONS

However, the demonstrations did not stop. On the night of Oct. 6, the third day of disturbances, despite the retreat of the movement's initial leaders, according to Sidney Gruson's dispatch from Warsaw to the N. Y. Times, "for the first time in the three nights of trouble they had to close areas of downtown Warsaw to ordinary traffic before bringing the situation under control. Constitution Square was cordoned off for nearly two hours."

Gruson further reported that the "crowds on Marszalkowska kept getting bigger and the mood uglier. The call went in suddenly for the mobile guard, the riot squad, and they came into the area in trucks, perhaps 1,000 strong." By nine o'clock in the evening Gruson drove up to the area. **"It was littered with broken glass and bricks. Two wooden barricades of the kind used by workmen had been overturned. The sidewalks by then were again lined with thousands of persons almost as if they were waiting for a parade to pass. Only once did the crowd express its feeling, jeering and whistling when a policeman cubbed a youngster being dragged off by two other guards. The smell of tear gas was heavy. It got heavier a little later when the police fired more bombs to break up re-forming crowds of hooting youths."**

YOUNG PEOPLE ARRESTED

On the morning of Oct. 5, the Communist Party issued a communique condemning Po Prostu for its "anti-Party line." Gomulka met with Warsaw editors and reiterated his earlier demand for "press loyalty." He angrily condemned the distribution of a leaflet throughout the city by the Po Prostu staff which condemned police brutality and warned of the return of a "regime of fear" in Poland.

Saturday's struggle resulted in the arrest of 150. Police condemned the demonstrators as "hooligans from various parts of the city." (This is the same term that the Cyrankiewicz regime applied to the young strikers in Poznan last year.) Official student spokesmen also condemned the demonstrators as "hooligans." Small skirmishes reportedly continued through the fourth night on Oct. 6. Forty more youths were arrested.

Throughout the entire protest movement Cardinal Wyszynski and the Catholic Church denounced the demonstrations.

The charge leveled by the Go-

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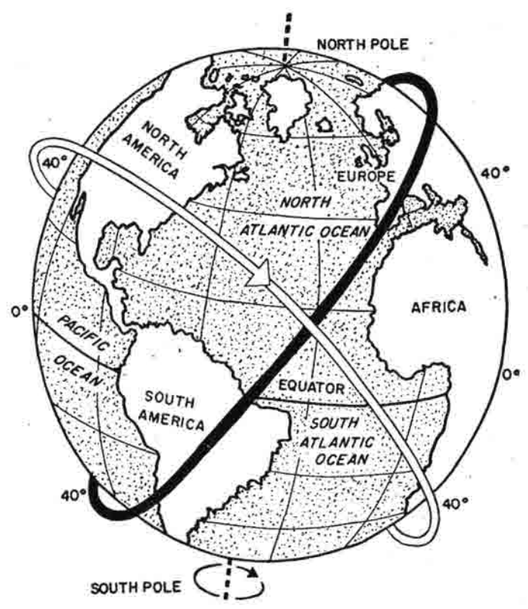
Around World in 96 Minutes



This map indicates the course of the Soviet satellite (heavy black line) launched Oct. 4 and the possible orbit (white line) of the sphere Washington plans to shoot into outer space next year. The Soviet "moon" is about 22½ inches in diameter, weighs 184 lbs., contains radio equipment audible in most parts of the world. It circles the earth once every hour and 36 minutes at an altitude of about 560 miles.

After Little Rock

By George Lavan

Those who think that the sending of federal troops to Little Rock means that Eisenhower now intends to go full steam ahead in really enforcing school desegregation are in for a sad disillusionment. Examination of the administration's conduct during and since the Little Rock crisis shows that its former reluctance about integration still continues and that its slogan for the future will be: Keep desegregation as limited, as token, and as slow as possible.

Of course the White House's intentions and what actually happens are two different things as the federal intervention in Arkansas demonstrated. Eisenhower had vowed over and over again that he would never, absolutely never, send federal troops to uphold school integration or civil rights in the South. But the tremendous wave of mass indignation that mistreatment of the Negro children evoked not only in this country, but throughout the world, forced Eisenhower to do preceisely what he had said only a few months before could happen only, "over my dead body."

Thus it is possible that the ever more militant struggle of the Negro people in this country and the sympathy that it evokes from white workers nationally and internationally may again compel the administration to use

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New York Rally

For Independent Socialist Political Action

Hear

Vincent Hallinan

(1952 Progressive Party Presidential Candidate)

Joyce Cowley

(Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of New York)

✦

Friday, October 25 -- 8 P.M.

✦

CENTRAL PLAZA — 111 SECOND AVENUE

Contribution 50 cents

Press, Senators Clamor For Bigger Arms Budget

By Art Preis

OCT. 8 — Launched Oct. 4 and now circling Earth some 560 miles out in space at about 18,000 miles per hour, the Soviet Union's man-made "moon" represents a stupendous stride in man's understanding of the world and the universe. But this awesome scientific achievement has been greeted by the Big Business press and leading figures in this country with scarcely concealed chagrin. Indeed, as its full significance sinks in, the reaction of American top circles approaches what might be called "controlled panic."

For the Soviet Union's ability to successfully project an 184-pound sphere into auter space clearly indicates that the USSR has also perfected an intercontinental ballistic missile capable of carrying an atomic war-head tremendous distances with accuracy.

The Eisenhower Administration has pretended "no surprise" at the new development. White House Press Secretary James C. Haggerty claimed: "We never thought of our program as one which was in a race with the Soviets. . ." Rear Adm. Rawson Bennett, whose Office of Naval Research heads up the U.S. satellite program, belittled the Soviet "moon" as "a hunk of iron almost anybody could launch."

Few other voices of the American ruling class assume this nonchalant tone. For instance every daily paper in New York City, from liberal Democratic to right-wing Republican, is clamoring for a stepped-up arms program.

Push-Button Warfare?

The Democratic N. Y. Post admitted in its Oct. 7 editorial: "We cannot really sit back and enjoy the spectacle. For the inescapable corollary of the week-end revelation is that the Kremlin's capacity for push-button warfare may be larger than most men had heretofore conceded." But it insisted that "the result need not be catastrophic if we respond to the challenge with solemnity and imagination" and, of course, "without panic."

The Republican N. Y. World-Telegram called the Soviet's new scientific achievement "massive blackmail." **It complained in an Oct. 8 editorial that "we probably are due to be subjected to 'massive retaliation' Soviet style" — a phrase that now sounds more ominous to the American profiteer-imperialists than when Secretary of State Dulles, boasting of U.S. H-Bomb superiority, first hurled it as a threat against the Soviet Union.**

As for the Republican N. Y. Herald Tribune, it cried out on Oct. 7 about "the urgency of this crisis" and demanded "a special session of Congress" to launch a super war-program "in keeping with the supreme challenge of this apocalyptic age."

Frenzy in the Press

After pooh-poohing Soviet military strength, important sections of the U.S. press now sound almost frenzied. A "high ranking Army officer" is seriously cited in an Oct. 7 Scripps-Howard story as believing that "it was possible that Russia's earth satellite was 'systematically recording and reporting' some secrets now" as a "first step toward global aerial reconnaissance which makes all military secrets vulnerable. . :." The officer is quoted: "George Orwell's story of 1984 — with Big Brother spying on us — is a reality from this day on." In the same vein, the Oct. 7 N. Y. World-Telegram screams in double-banner headlines: **"RUSSIANS TESTING TROOPS FOR MOON TRIP IN 2 YEARS."** That same day the United Press reported a rising demand in Washington for "a multibillion-dollar 'crash' program to beat Russia to the moon and the planets."

What is the course of the fear, even panic, conveyed in these reactions? Since 1945, when Truman ushered in the atomic age by slaughtering 200,000 Japanese civilians with just two A-bombs, U.S. imperialism has been brandishing its military superiority all over the globe. It has built an iron cordon around the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, with more than a million troops and atomic air bombardament bases in 55 foreign lands. Within the past ten years, about 400-billion dollars, drained from the American people, has been spent to ensure U.S. military supremacy. But all for naught.

The illusion, perhaps even the self-deception, of the ruling U.S. capitalists that they could maintain a monopoly, or at least overwhelming superiority, in the new annihilation weapons has been rudely dispelled. Their arrogant dismissal of the scientific and industrial potential of the non-capitalist, non-profit Soviet economy has been proved a product of class ignorance and prejudice.

Let us recall the main stages in U.S. imperialism's war preparations and cold war against the countries of the Soviet orbit. These began before the actual close of World War II, with the unleashing of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan was already beaten and suing for surrender. The real purpose of Truman's demonstrative atrocity was "massive blackmail" by American imperialism of the non-capitalist world and the rising colonial peoples.

New Blow to U.S. Policy

The American rulers, with Truman then at their head, openly brandished the A-Bomb over the rest of the world. But the Soviet Union produced its own A-Bomb within four years. At the same time, colossal areas of the colonial world, from India to China, weakened or broke the grip of imperialism. The Chinese revolution, victorious by 1950, was a staggering blow to imperialist aims and pretensions. The debacle of Truman's "police action" in Korea and France's war on the Indo-Chinese blew up the U.S. policy of "containment" of colonial and anti-capitalist revolutions.

With the U.S. perfection of the H-Bomb, thousands of times as destructive as the A-Bomb, Washington became more truculent than ever. The threat of "massive retaliation" became the verbal screen for more aggressive moves and stepped-up war preparations. But within nine months of the test explosion of America's first hydrogen-fusion device, the Soviet Union exploded one of her own, in August 1953.

The American ruling class was in a fury of frustration. First, the Chinese revolution and the Korean civil war had upset Wall Street's expansionist timetable. Then, the Soviet mastery of the nuclear weapons forced the ruling circles in this country to postpone their planned

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Every Cloud Must Have A Silver Lining

One sweet drop was found in the bitter sputnik dose U.S. imperialism has had to swallow. N. Y. Times correspondent A. M. Rosenthal wrote from New Delhi that the Soviet earth satellite "has turned out to be something of a boon to the United States in India. At least, it has taken people's minds off Little Rock, Ark."

However, even that sweet drop is soured by the joking comment of a Soviet sputnik expert: "You know, we could have launched this thing over a week ago, but the news from Little Rock was so good we didn't want to take the play away from it too soon."

Congressional Witch-Hunters In Buffalo Probe

By Lou Mason

BUFFALO — Oct. 5 — The House Un-American Activities Committee concluded its Buffalo hearings yesterday after making every effort to unleash an hysterical red scare here. There are some indications, however, that the results fell short of the expectations of the witch hunting congressmen and their close local collaborators in the big corporations, the press, and and the FBI and city police. **All but a few out of approximately fifty witnesses who were called before the committee vigorously resisted its invasion of constitutional liberties despite threats of perjury and contempt charges and other weapons of intimidation.**

In the huge Westinghouse plant, where there is a long tradition of militancy, the company has been unable to take action against the workers who were subpoenaed. Several years ago the company fired Diantha Hoag, who had been called before the McCarthy Committee on similar charges. No such move ensued this time although the company may still be considering its policy in the wake of the red baiting onslaught.

BUREAUCRATS IN PURGE

In the giant Bethlehem Steel plant, which was a main target of the committee, there have been no firings to date. But in Local 2603, Edward Wolkenstein, a witness before the committee, has been removed from his post as a steward and as a delegate to the CIO Council. This move was instigated by the labor bureaucracy and carried out with only a small participation of the membership.

On the whole, the vast majority of workers in the area paid little heed to the committee's red-baiting ravings. One notable exception occurred at the Tube Manifold Co., a small plant, where about 100 workers were induced by the company to walk out in protest at "having to work with two ex-reds." The two witnesses were Sidney Turoff and Sidney Ingerman, who had broken with the Communist Party this year. Ironically, they were the two who had capitulated to a considerable extent to the committee and except those calling for names of alleged CP members answered all questions. This capitulation instead of softening the committee's approach resulted in interrogation at great length with no quarter given.

Charles Cina, business agent of local 55 UAW where the walkout occurred properly charged that it was "company engineered." He further asserted "It is our firm intention to protect (these two witnesses) in their right to continue to earn a living." He did not say what would happen to those who invoked the Fifth Amendment and defied this anti-labor committee rather than surrender to it.

Toward the end of the hearings a number of witnesses were questioned about the YWCA, the Parent Teachers Association and the Jewish community center in an attempt to show "conspiratorial penetration" of these groups by the Communist Party. The Un-American Activities Committee, chaired here by Rep. Willis, a white-supremacist from Louisiana where the NAACP has been banned, also turned its attention to the NAACP in Buffalo and tried to show "Communist infiltration."

'RED COLONIZERS'

Another despicable technique of the committee was to select and smear as "red colonizers" those who were from New York City (especially those with Jewish-sounding names. Their formal education was played up by confronting them with copies of their employment application forms on which they had allegedly concealed college records. This probing into educational background was a monotonous pattern used over and over again.

Witnesses who were union members and remained solid against the witch-hunters were abandoned or given an extra blow by the local trade-union bureaucrats. Assistance and encouragement did come from other sources, however.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee of New York City sent Clark Foreman as a representative to attend the hearings and to present a statement attacking them as unconstitutional.

Almost all witnesses had legal counsel appearing with them, including attorneys obtained with the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Socialist Workers Party, which protested the hearings in a statement, had broached the idea of a broad committee which would defend the victims and publicly denounce the House Committee hearings. Several staunch fighters for the rights of labor tried to carry this out, but leading liberals who were approached to join in the effort refused on various, feeble excuses. The collapse of the liberals in the area at this crucial moment undeniably aided the witch-hunters.

SWP in Buffalo Protests Hearings

BUFFALO, Oct. 3 — "The witch hunters prey upon those who express opposition to discrimination and segregation, to poverty or war, or to the poisoning of the human race by atomic radiation," declared the Socialist Workers Party locally in a statement protesting the House Un-American Activities Committee Hearings. "We protest against the invasion of individual privacy. We protest against the hounding, firing, and blacklisting of workers for political ideas. We protest the committee's continuing attacks against civil liberties. We protest the very existance of the Walter Committee." Sam Ballan, chairman of the Buffalo SWP handed the party's statement to the committee and requested that it be read into the record. Richard Arens, chief counsel for the House committee, denied the request. The Buffalo Evening News printed parts of the statement.

ECLC Condemns House Committee

BUFFALO, Oct. 2 — Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee today denounced Rep. Willis (D-La.), conducting House Un-American Activities Committee hearings locally, as "showing the same disregard for law and order as Gov. Faubus of Arkansas." Foreman came here to attend the hearings. He declared that the Supreme Court had scored this type of Congressional "investigation" and urged that the committee be abolished.

Congress Bows To the South

What are the lessons of the struggle for effective civil-rights legislation in Congress? Is Big Business uneasy about the old Jim Crow pattern in the South? What was behind the deal between the Southern Bourbons and the Democratic and Republican liberals? Can the fight for Negro equality be speeded up? Read the searching analysis by Lois Saunders in the fall issue of the **International Socialist Review.**

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Bevan Deserts to Right on H-Bomb

By Peter Fryer

Special London Correspondent

LONDON, Oct. 4 — The 56th annual conference of the British Labor Party, last week was rich in experiences, in lessons for the Left wing — and in paradoxes. The biggest seeming paradox of all was the sight of the "Bevanites" heckling and renouncing their leader, Aneurin ("Nye") Bevan, with cries of "You are selling the pass."

Ramsay Macdonald was in office when he betrayed the hopes of those who idolized him. Bevan's apostasy comes anything up to two years before he holds office again. This is all to the good. We know where we stand. The idol has revealed its feet of clay on two issues close to the heart of the ordinary rank-and-file member of the party: nationalization and the hydrogen bomb. These issues are intimately related to fundamental socialist principles; they are touchstones for the present-day observance and carrying forward of the anti-capitalist and anti-war traditions of the British Labor movement.

It is well that the lines of demarcation should have been drawn so unambiguously at this early stage; that after the first shock of dismay there should have been among constituency delegates a sober appraisal of this political lesson read to them from the rostrum in those agreeably lilting, but now no longer spellbinding Welsh cadences.

BEVAN GOES ALONE

Bevan gambled on carrying the bulk of his followers with him. But the gamble did not come off. 1957 is not 1926. If the British Labor movement has learned anything at all in the past generation it has learned the truth of A. J. Cook's words: **"We have been loyal to leaders when we should have been loyal to principles." Only a tiny handful of the "Bevanites" were disposed to say "My Nye, right or wrong," and Bevan himself was plainly disconcerted by the first recorded failure of his tricks of oratory, by the lack of applause at those carefully-timed pauses.**

Here was a "Left" leader revealing that as foreign secretary he will jealously uphold the diplomatic interests of British imperialism, publicly burning his boats, delivering himself up as a hostage to the Right wing.

Bevan had it in his power to force major concessions from the Right, particularly on the question of nationalization. But now he is destined for a long time to play second fiddle—and not a particularly effective one—to Gaitskell's lead. The Manchester Guardian tells how the two of them were "standing in smiling conversation just behind the chairman" during the final session of the conference. The ultra-conservative Daily Mail coos its praises at its bogy man of yesterday: "Bevan Tells the World" —"a speech requiring considerable courage." The speech, says the Daily Telegraph, was "statesmanlike."

POWER-BLOC CONCEPTS

To say however that Bevan has sold out for high office would be a gross oversimplification. He is no newcomer to high office. He has consistently stood for social-democracy and for social-democratic types of accommodation with capitalism. There are indications that his defense of British possession of the hydrogen-bomb was motivated, not primarily by personal considerations, but by a reading of the international situation which lays emphasis on power-bloc alliances and on the balance-of-power rather than on the role of the working-class movement.

Whether Khrushchev in fact told him that the Russians would prefer Britain to retain the bomb is uncertain (though the decision of the Stalinist-dominated Electrical Trades Union to vote for British possession of the bomb seems to indicate a certain—rectification of the international line). In any case this is immaterial. Bevan's attitude is based on the assumption that the U.S. government will by-pass the British and will conclude a more or less overt alliance with Adenauer. Hence Bevan's desire to retain the bomb as a bargaining point, whose absence would, he feels, leave him "naked" at the international conference table.

He is already naked, for this is naked power politics, not socialist politics. The working class has no place in his calculations. Will the rank and file swallow this? It is the opinion of many, including Frank Allaun, MP, that by the next conference the opponents of the bomb will have secured a decisive majority. Even if this does not come to pass the demand of the Norwood resolution for the "mobilization of the international working-class movement" against the tests is no idle dream; it will be achieved as understanding spreads of the dangers these tests entail.

LEADERSHIP CRISIS

On the surface it might appear that Bevan's defection has left the radical wing of the Labor Party leaderless. This is not quite true. There was a crisis of leadership before; that crisis remains, as the biggest single problem British socialists have to face. Bevan has removed from the Left the light of a powerful and flamboyant personality who for years overshadowed his colleagues. Correspondingly the scales have dropped from the eyes of many of the most active and devoted constituency workers, who now realize that they were wrong to confuse the individual position of one man with the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Daily Express carried a cartoon of an imperious, arrogant and elegantly top-hatted Bevan, curling his lip in scorn at the pigmies Barbara Castle and Ian Mikardo, carrying "Ban the Bomb" and "More Socialism" banners and gesticulating under his feet. "Ugh!" Bevanites!" he is saying. And indeed it is now apparent that there never was more than one Bevanite!

Those who followed Bevan are people who are interested in a more militant prosecution of what they see as democratic socialism; people who want more nationalization, who want a socialist foreign policy, a harder fight against the Tories, the prospect of real social advance in our time. These people are the backbone of hundreds of local Labor Party units.

For too long the fight to get Bevan elected treasurer tended to obscure the discussion of more important questions, and the opening out of the fight on to a broader and more fruitful arena. A Left wing no longer geared to the rise of one man is a Left wing which can embark on a real discussion, and which can look with hope to—and link its fortunes with — the developing mass movement.

LEFT-WING TO REBUILD

Already Tribune, it is believed, has decided to clear up the confusion sown among its readers by its recent reluctance to criticize Bevan. There is talk of the re-formation of the Tribune group of MPs in the House of Commons, of the building of a lively, alert and vigorous Friends of Tribune movement, and of the holding of a series of meetings at which the tasks before the Labor Left can be threshed out.

In these and similar developments a leadership is bound to crystallize, not necessarily identical in every respect with present well-known Parliamentary figures. And the Marxists in the Labor Party have an enormous part to play. **While they did not foresee that Bevan would announce his defection so soon they are on record as analyzing the shortcomings of social-democracy in precisely this sense. Their contribution to the discussion as it enfolds will do much to help clarify the issues in the minds of the ordinary members.**

Polish Youth Helped Gomulka Win

Polish youth are shown above as they excitedly look over the news of victory in Poland's defiance of the Kremlin in October, 1956. Gomulka came to power in that struggle. Now he is trying to consolidate his regime by suppressing critics in the old Stalinist style. Po Prostu, popular student weekly, was banned early this month.

Decline of Youth Clubs Described in Po Prostu

By C. R. Hubbard

The Polish youth clubs, that played such an important role in the struggle that brought Gomulka to power, have entered since that victory into a period of decline. Po Prostu, the student weekly that was banned last week by the Gomulka regime, attempted last May to chart this decline and explain the reasons for it.

The author of the Po Prostu article said he had spoken to many former activists in Warsaw clubs, some who "were considered October heroes and who now seemed to be interested only in playing bridge." While these youths proclaimed their disinterest in politics, most of them knew that such an attitude could not endure. As the author put it "in the long run an apolitical vegetation makes no sense at all."

THE DISILLUSIONED

Po Prostu explained that after the October events of last year a certain amount of apathy was inevitable due to "simple human weariness." Then, the author explained, a more basic factor came to the fore — namely, disillusionment with the October victory. "In general, the young intelligentsia clubs have always enjoyed the support of the highest Party and State leadership; the 'higher echelons' have only occasionally expressed fear of possible negative consequences of the 'excess energy' of over-enthusiastic activists; however, in the 'low echelons' where the concrete activities of the particular local authorities come into question, the people representing the 'new forces' have been [blocked] by the authorities not only because the authorities feared excess energy but more often because they feared for their own positions. . .

"How long is it possible to speak to no effect?" asked Po Prostu. "How can we be surprised that various intelligent people who have been permitted to speak, but whose words were ignored in the practice of governing, finally got discouraged? Is it not understandable that under these circumstances the clubs have removed themselves from political life?"

Disillusionment after Gomulka's victory against the Kremlin was inevitable. For while all of Poland united on a nationalist basis to end the abuses of the Soviet bureaucracy, the struggle a year ago failed to eliminate the Stalinist regime in Poland itself. The political revolution begun in October of 1956 was not complete. It failed to establish workers' power, socialist democracy. Frustration and disillusionment therefore followed. Revolutionary forces will have to regroup for a new assault on bureaucratism. The old all-inclusive organizational forms are not suitable to new tasks.

Po Prostu put its finger on some of the reasons for the decline of the youth clubs, but the author of the May article either did not dare or did not understand how to formulate the tasks for the continuation of the anti-Stalinist struggle.

DEFEATIST OUTLOOK

He drew a defeatist conclusion from his observations. "In the hectic times of the past period, many clubs and in general many groups of the leftist intellectuals felt their political mission to lie primarily in waging a battle on the Party apparatus as the main bearer of all ailments and distortions, and not in battling the ailments and distortions themselves. It is obvious that in a situation such as that which prevails in our country, a country engaged in building Socialism in given historical circumstances, this fight against the Party apparatus had to end in failure and disillusionment. This had to be so even if the representatives of that apparatus have not been right in all cases."

However, poverty, backwardness, disease — these social ailments do not give rise to disillusionment. Frustration comes as a result of obstacles that stand in the way of meeting these problems. In Poland the obstacle of the capitalist class was overcome and a planned economy won. **But there remains the obstacle of the privileged bureaucratic caste. The old all-inclusive youth clubs that united Catholic bourgeois and revolutionary youth last fall against Kremlin rule of Poland cannot serve the new tasks.**

. . . Warsaw Students

(Cntinued from page 1)

mulka regime that Po Prostu is a "bourgeois" organ is pure and simple slander. Po Prostu played a leading role in the history of Poland's struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy and for socialist democracy. In 1955 it was the first paper to issue a call for the formation of youth clubs nationally to stimulate the free discussion of social and cultural problems in Poland with a view to the progress of socialist development. Before the Poznan struggle in June of 1956, Po Prostu spoke up boldly for legislation to protect unemployed workers. It accused the regime of solving the problems of the unemployed by the simple device of denying that unemployment existed.

After the Poznan events, Po Prostu called for workers' control of industry. The student paper pointed out that "the completion of people's rule through control by workers would curb the dignitaries and petty despots who are still lording it with impunity." The youth gathered around the crusading Po Prostu supported Gomulka in his defiance of the Kremlin domination in October of last year.

After Gomulka's victory the new regime began to consolidate its power by moving against both those who resisted the October change and those who thought the victory against the Kremlin meant that freedom was now won and criticism no longer had to hide in whispered, secret conversations. However, bureaucrats in power are less interested in freedom than they are in "stability." Every critic becomes a "troublemaker."

Last April, Po Prostu announced the resignation of its editor, Eligiusz Lasota, who had been elected to Parliament in January as one of the Communist Party's representatives. The paper suspended publication during the summer months. There was talk of difficulty with the authorities. When it attempted to resume in September it encountered more trouble. It was due to appear Sept. 7, but did not. **Reuters reported from Warsaw that the government was demanding that the student paper confine itself to "purely student matters and avoid broad issues or controversial matters."**

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Fryer Newsletter to Feature Russian Revolution Anniversary

News comes from England that there will be a special jumbo-sized issue of Peter Fryer's Newsletter marking the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. It promises to be the most comprehensive compendium on the Soviet Union from its origin up to modern times available anywhere. An idea of its scope and variety may be gathered from the following partial list of its contents.

A commentary entitled, No Force Can Quench the Flame Lit 40 Years Ago by Russia's Workers; Personalities of the Revolution; How They Took Power by Martin Grainger; The Bolshevik Party by Wm. Hunter; The Soviets by George Cunvin.

The Rise and Consolidation of the Bureaucracy by Michael Banda; The Bolshevik Resistance to Stalinism (1923-28); The Purges and the Purged by Robert Hunter.

The Red Army and the Second World War by Don Renton; The Communist International and Soviet Foreign Policy by Joseph Hansen; The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe by Tony Guthrie; An American Journalist in Moscow by Joseph Clark; The October Revolution and the Peoples of the East by Karmini Meedeniya.

Soviet Industry and Agriculture by Tom Kemp; Soviet Science by J. H. Bradley; Soviet Psychology by Beatrix Tudor-Hart; Soviet Education by John Daniels.

There will be in addition a number of articles on the various arts in the USSR and other subjects.

Those wishing to place orders for it may do so by placing their orders with The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. The price will be announced soon.

Mao's Policy of "Bloom And Contend" in Practice

(We reprint below excerpts from an article published in Hongkong on the Hu Feng movement in China. — Ed.)

The revelation of Stalin's crimes at the 20th Congress in Russia had a tremendous influence on China. It broke up the fairy tale that Mao is the "Eastern Sun," and that his thinking as well as that of the Chinese Communist Party leadership is flawless. From then on the Chinese intellectuals' thinking could no longer tolerate the arbitrary control of the CCP. Before this, in 1955, there was a movement against bureaucratic thought control led by Hu Feng, a writer, who grouped together the young authors. From criticizing Mao's literary policy, they went further to engage in a struggle against bureaucracy. With the illusion that the literary leadership can be reformed through those on top, (for instance, they sent a letter to Chou En-lai), this movement was exposed too soon and severely crushed.

Following the arrest of Hu Feng and leaders of his group and a purge of Hu Feng elements among the intellectuals, came the revelation at the 20th Congress in Russia. Again the demand for freedom of thought was raised among the intellectuals. Under this pressure, Mao laid down, though reluctantly, the "bloom-and-contend" policy, which was once the proposal of Hu Feng.

This was the first concession of the CCP in response to mass pressure, but was limited to the literary field. . . . [However] the people were free to discuss the slave system, feudalism and capitalism in China, the character of the Chung Han dynasty, but not the actual role of the workers in the proletarian dictatorship and the policy of the long term "co-existence and mutual supervision" between the bourgeois parties and the CCP. People were free to discuss all the philosophical tendencies of bygone days, but not the deviation of Maoism from Marxism; to discuss economic laws in the abstract, but not to tie them in with reality. . .

The Hungarian and Polish events last year accelerated the tempo of disillusionment among the intellectuals towards the CCP. In spite of the propaganda . . . that those events were counter-revolution, still many believe that they were people's uprisings against bureaucratic rule.

World Events

LEBANON'S FOREIGN MINISTER, Charles Malik, told the U.N. General Assembly that his country would stand with the other Arab nations in any conflict with the West. In the Assembly's debate, not one Arab country supported Dulles' charge that Syria constituted a threat to the peace of the Mideast.

* * *

AMERICAN PRESTIGE ABROAD, according to the London correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, has been battered by Soviet successes: the satellite, failure of U.S. policy in Syria, Little Rock, etc. In London the quip is heard, "Oh well, at least the Americans can be sure of winning the World Series."

* * *

SHOUTING "SPEIDEL GO HOME," mass demonstrations in Oslo's airport forced the plane of NATO's ground commander to land at a military field. General Hans Speidel's first official visit was protested with a 15-minute work-stoppage in most industries and a halting of street cars at noon. His reception in other countries was also frigid. Speidel is the same German General who had marched into Paris with the Nazi conquerors in 1941.

* * *

TUNISIANS DEMONSTRATED, 25,000 STRONG, Oct. 4, protesting against French violation of its borders with Algeria. Tunis announced that French planes had machine-gunned a mule caravan, killing three people. The French claimed the caravan was transporting arms. The Tunisians said the caravan was transporting coal.

Literature And Revolution

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(Signed) Daniel Roberts, Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September, 1957.

Constance F. Weissman

(Seal) Notary Public, State of New York. (My commission expires March 30, 1958.)

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Socialists and Elections

Last week the Militant printed the statements of Vincent Hallinan and Warren K. Billings endorsing Frank Barbaria, and Joan Jordan, the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the San Francisco municipal elections. Coming, from men who neither belong to nor subscribe to all the views of the Socialist Workers Party, these strong statements should carry great weight. We hope that all socialist-minded and class-conscious workers of San Francisco will give the recommendations of their two distinguished fellow townsmen the consideration they merit.

But the endorsements have a significance that transcends the current contest for municipal office in San Francisco. They have application to the problems faced by workers throughout the country in every election — local or national. For these reasons they bear further examination.

Hallinan was the Presidential candidate of the now defunct Progressive Party in 1952. For his audacity in accepting the nomination and campaigning against the Republicans and Democrats at the height of the witch hunt he has paid in terms of smear by the big-business press and persecution by the government. In his statement he urges the voters to back the SWP candidates as a step toward breaking with the self-defeating system whereby American "working people elect business owners, lawyers and insurance brokers to represent them." To advance their interests working people should elect representatives from their own class. The SWP wholeheartedly agrees with this proposition and that is why it unceasingly calls for the formation of a Labor Party and why SWP candidates are running in elections right now both in San Francisco and New York.

Warren K. Billings, has one of the most honorable records in American labor history. Framed up with Tom Mooney because of his union militancy, he spent the best part of his life behind bars. He will live in history as a victim of capitalist vengeance and the frame-up system. But the long prison years failed to break him and when he was vindicated and emerged again into the world he became a champion of the fight against frame-ups and for civil liberties. His endorsement singles out the commendable civil liberties record of the SWP candidates and calls for their support by all those who realize how vital it is to preserve civil liberties.

Billings says: "I think that we must return to that old and glorious slogan popularized by the IWW, 'An injury to one is an injury to all.'" The SWP and its candidates subscribe most heartily to this. This must become the watchword of the labor and socialist movements.

In taking this stand, we believe Hallinan and Billings are making an important contribution to the cause of socialist regroupment. United, independent socialist electoral activity provides a sound basis for the practical collaboration of all those who work for the final emergence of a militant, mass party of American socialism

The Djilas Case

There have just taken place simultaneously in Poland and Yugoslavia repressions of free speech that vividly demonstrate how far these two deformed workers' states are from workers' democracy and how little removed their ruling bureaucracies essentially are from the Stalinism they have publicly renounced.

In Poland the suppression of Po Prostu and its student defenders was an attack against a left-wing current in the workers' movement; in Yugoslavia the closed trial of Milovan Djilas was an attack on a right-wing tendency. Both are indefensible and harmful to the cause of socialism. Officially proclaimed as acts undertaken in the interests of the workers of the respective countries, both were in fact motivated by the narrow interests of the privileged ruling bureaucracies.

Readers of this paper know that we hold a low opinion of Djilas' theories as expressed in the writings for which he was previously persecuted by the Tito regime. This evaluation has been reinforced by his book, "The New Class," (soon to be reviewed in the Militant). Its publication was the "crime" of which he has just been convicted. But disagreement with and opposition to Djilas' ideas should in no way lead to condoning the physical repression of these ideas in a thought-control trial.

The interests of a workers' state are served by free discussion and a free press. The answer to anti-socialist articles is public exposure of their falseness by presentation of the facts and by counter-argument.

While the Tito regime did not torture Djilas into a "confession," and while he was sentenced to nine years rather than executed, the trial is nevertheless in the tradition of Stalin, not of Lenin and Trotsky.

Exact comparison cannot be made between the Djilas trial and trials in the Soviet Union before its Stalinist degeneration for the simple fact that there political opponents were not tried for ideas or writings. Indeed, hostile books, such as the seven-volume work on the October Revolution by the well-known Menshevik, Sukhanov, were printed and circulated in the USSR.

Comparison must be made, therefore, to trials of political opponents for actual crimes. In 1921 there was a trial of Socialist Revolutionaries who had reverted to that party's pre-revolution tradition of political assassination. On trial was the woman who had put two bullets into Lenin and the murderers of the Bolshevik leaders Uritsky and Volodarsky. The defendants had foreign lawyers of their choosing — the Belgian, Vandervelde, then head of the Socialist International, and Kurt Rosenfeld, a prominent German Social Democrat. They had privacy of conference with lawyers and Russian friends. They had a public trial. Subsequent to their conviction, which the whole world saw was just and not a frame-up, the Social-Revolutionaries promised to abandon political assassination and the death sentences were commuted.

But the Bolsheviks were for workers' democracy, Tito and Gomulka maintain political repression in the interest of privileged bureaucracies.

Hoffa's Election Used to Push Anti-Union Bills

By Fred Halstead

The anticipated result of the Teamsters convention—selection of James Hoffa and his followers to fill the top posts in the 1.4 million member union—is being used as a pretext for pushing anti-labor legislation. Senator John L. McClellan, chairman of the Senate labor probe committee said, Oct. 4, that Hoffa's election was "an arrogant defiance" of the AFL-CIO directive that the Teamsters "clean house" and therefore the need for Federal interference in union affairs is "greatly accentuated."

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell said Hoffa's election posed the strong possibility of "repressive labor legislation." He said that the Administration would probably recommend legislation providing government interference in union finances and welfare funds. Funds used for organizing and strike expenses — traditionally not itemized even in the most honest unions because of the necessarily confidential nature of such activities — are to be placed under government supervision by the proposed legislation. McClellan said Hoffa's election "together with other disclosures might even lead to consideration of a national right-to-work law banning the union shop," according to the Oct. 5 New York Times.

None of this legislation will help rank-and-file Teamsters to gain control of the union, but it will hamstring the entire labor movement and that is what the McClellan committee is in business for.

The final major candidate opposing Hoffa in the election for the presidency was William A. Lee, considered "acceptable" to both McClellan and the AFL-CIO leaders who collaborated with McClellan in trying to block Hoffa's election. Lee was accurately described by New York Post columnist Murray Kempton as "a dull hack who is president of the Chicago Federation of Labor because Democratic boss Ed Kelly made him so."

John English, the arch-bureaucrat whom the AFL-CIO executive council appointed to take Beck's place when the council expelled him, supported Hoffa. Thus ended in complete fiasco the attempts by the AFL-CIO leaders to replace Beck and Hoffa with a pie-card more acceptable to the Congressmen.

The AFL-CIO has set Oct. 24 as the deadline for the Teamsters to "clean house." The ultimatum specifically named Hoffa, Frank Brewster of Seattle and Sidney Brennan of Minneapolis, as among those who had to be cleaned out if the Teamsters were to avoid expulsion from the AFL-CIO.

CAUTIOUS SPEECH

Hoffa has couched his defense against expulsion in careful terms. In his acceptance speech he said, "We will do everything in our power to remain with the united labor movement. . . I hope that the hasty threats of expulsion will be withdrawn as time and what we do prove our sincerity. . . They [the AFL-CIO leaders] wind up cooperating with labor's enemies. They forget that tomorrow it will be their turn to face the enemy. I hope they are able to fight back."

The convention also made a number of constitutional changes designed in part to give the Hoffa machine material for the argument that it is complying with the AFL-CIO ethical-practices code. In addition, Brewster and Sidney Brennan were removed as vice-presidents and members of the executive board.

The Carpenters Union president, Maurice Hutcheson, sent a congratulatory telegram to Hoffa after the election expressing approval of what he termed "clean-up steps" taken by the Teamsters convention. Similar telegrams were sent Hoffa by the heads of the three West Coast affiliates of the Seafarers International Union, AFL-CIO. Clearly expulsion of the Teamsters will not be a simple matter.

James Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, has been pushing the AFL-CIO to make preparations for setting up a rival truckers union to raid the Teamsters. The nucleus of the proposed dual union would be locals which bolt the Teamsters at the request of the AFL-CIO. But the convention showed Hoffa's opposition to be much weaker than was expected, and indicated that the new regime in the Teamsters cannot be seriously dented by the bureaucratic means proposed by the AFL-CIO tops.

POWER CENTRALIZED

The convention transferred absolute power from the presidency to the executive board, but power in the Teamsters is now more centralized than it was under either Tobin or Beck. Tobin ruled like a feudal monarch. He held absolute power precisely because he used it, not to rule the regional bureaucracies, but mainly to aid them against the rank and file. Beck began some centralization. Under Hoffa the process has already gone much further.

The present executive board is Hoffa's machine, not simply a council of autonomous lords, and practically all of the regional bureaucracy is under the direct patronage of this machine. The convention showed that the Teamsters bureaucracy as a whole supported this change. The rank and file, of course, was not represented at the convention.

Steel Local to AFL-CIO: Go South, Fight Racists

A Youngstown, Ohio local of the United Steelworkers of America has called upon the leadership of the 1.2-million-member union to tour the South "pledging full support" to the fight against segregation. The call was in a resolution on Civil Rights submitted by Local 1330 to the Oct. 3 conference of the union's District 26. The resolution calls for a drive to organize the South. **It says further "that we recognize the anti-labor, anti-Negro role played by both Republican and Democratic parties in the whole civil-rights fight, and that we realize that labor should organize its own party, which will be a class party representing the workers regardless of race, creed or color or nationality."**

Two other resolutions, one on unemployment and one on the McClellan committee, are reprinted in the Oct. 4 issue of the local's newspaper, the Ohio Works Organizer.

The district conference is asked to call a "district mass meeting" to discuss the growing unemployment in the area and to press state officials to legalize supplementary unemployment benefits which steel workers have already won in their contracts. The resolution also supports "the principle of a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, as a step in aiding the unemployed problem."

On the Senate labor-probe, Local 1330 says that "cooperation with the McClellan committee by the trade union leadership gives the workers the false impression that this committee has a right to investigate labor. This leads the whole union movement into a trap and ties their hands against resisting the union-busting laws this committee is preparing against us." The resolution urges the "leadership of the Steelworkers Union and of the AFL-CIO to openly denounce the McClellan committee."

In the light of what has happened to the labor movement in Arkansas recently, the Local 1330 resolution on civil rights is most significant. According to the Oct. 1 Labor's Daily, a "top Arkansas AFL-CIO official" said that the atmosphere created by Gov. Faubus' action "has hurt us more than anything that's happened to us in 25 years." **This official (who declined to have his name published because of racist intimidation) said that for years "plant managers and the NAM have tried to scare workers away from unions by pointing out our stand on civil rights. Now they think this weapon will be even more effective."**

At present the national AFL-CIO officials including Steelworkers president David J. McDonald make the record on civil rights in their Northern speeches, but they have not thrown the weight of their vast resources against racist agitation inside and outside of the unions in the South, leaving supporters of integration there isolated and intimidated. Their support to the Democratic Party, chief political enemy of labor and civil rights in the South, is also disastrous.

Local 1330's resolution makes the proper demands — namely that AFL-CIO leaders make their pro-civil-rights speeches in the South and use labor's political power to expose the racist, anti-labor politicians in the Democratic Party there, rather than to apologize for them.

Sidney Brennan Runs True to Form

The October convention issue of the official magazine of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters contains brief biographies of top Teamster officials. Of Sidney Brennan it says: "In the early forties he was leader in the successful move to lessen the influence of the Socialist Workers Party in position in union affairs in Minneapolis. This led to his appointment as Secretary Treasurer of Local 544, a position he still holds." (The elected officials whom Brennan replaced as a Tobin-appointee were railroaded to prison for their socialist ideas under the Smith Act.) Brennan has recently been convicted of taking bribes from employers to break a strike, and the convention removed him as IBT vice-president because of the adverse publicity.

Negro physician Dr. Harold M. Johnson and his daughters who were turned away Sept. 5 from entering an all-white high school in Arlington, Virginia, across the river from the nation's capital. They established a court test of a state law thwarting integration.

...After Little Rock

(Continued from page 1)

federal troops to enforce desegregation and other civil rights in the South.

How strong mass opinion on Little Rock still remains may be gathered from the following two items. (1) The Gallup Poll, asking whether sending troops to Little Rock was "the right thing" or the "wrong thing" found that 74% of the American people, outside the South, believed it "the right thing." Even in the South, where all official and unofficial means of propaganda try to mold a solid, white-supremacist, opinion, the poll showed only a bare majority—53%—against the sending of federal troops, while 36% upheld the action and 11% expressed no opinion. **(2) International feeling may be glimpsed from the opening of an Oct. 8 dispatch to the New York Times from New Delhi: "That Soviet earth satellite has turned out something of a boon to the United States in India. At least it has taken people's minds off Little Rock, Ark."**

The administration fully realizes the pressure of this national and international opinion, for it was this that dislodged it from its hands-off, conciliatory attitude towards Gov. Faubus. Indeed, it was a second look at this opinion that caused Eisenhower to hurriedly back out of a deal he had made with the Southern Governors to withdraw the federal troops.

FEAR PRECEDENT

While the administration has bowed to the storm of opinion over Little Rock, it is not happy about the situation. On the contrary it is worried about the implications of the precedent set in the enforcing of Negroes' rights in the South. Evidence of this can be seen in Eisenhower's press conference statements where he tried to establish that he was not using troops to enforce integration but solely to uphold a final court order.

That important sections of Big Business opinion are alarmed by the concessions made to the Negro people is very apparent. U. S. News and World Report, one of the most important magazines of the business world, has been conducting an all-out campaign against desegregation and particularly against the federal intervention in Arkansas. David Lawrence, its editor, is also a favorite columnist of the Big Business newspapers. His syndicated column appears in 270 daily newspapers, over three-quarters of them in the North. During the Little Rock crisis and after the sending of federal troops he wrote 18 consecutive columns attacking integration and federal intervention.

Arthur Krock, the oracular columnist of the New York Times, has differed with that paper's editors by carrying on a steady campaign against federal intervention. The Wall Street Journal's editorial page similarly betrays great uneasiness about the federal commitment to enforcement of school desegregation. On Sept. 25 it declared: **"But no one can doubt that what is now dramatized in Little Rock has its origins in the Supreme Court. The tragedy begins with nine men who decided to remake the country."**

The next day (Sept.26) it criticized the sending of troops as too hasty and on Sept. 30 it warned about Washington's "dangerous flirtation with force." On Oct. 3, after the attempted Eisenhower-Faubus deal via the Southern governors had fallen through, it declared Faubus' terms should have been accepted and said that Eisenhower's rejection of them was "legal fly-specking" of an "otherwise perfectly straightforward statement by the Governor of a state."

SAYS IT'S TOO FAST

Equally significant are the views of Walter Lippman, the capitalist press' most intellectual solution-finder. In his syndicated column of Oct. 1, he backs the use of federal troops this time but calls for a new policy. Integration, he opines, "cannot be treated solely or mainly as a problem in federal law enforcement." The Supreme Court decision must be supplemented "by a national policy and program of guidance and aid as to when, where, how far and how fast, integration should proceed." Lippman thinks it is going too far and too fast now. He repeats his proposal of a year ago that integration be attempted only "in the universities, in the graduate schools of law, medicine, education, engineering, theology—and where it can be done without causing social convulsions in the bigger colleges. The object of this would be to train a new generation of white and colored men and women who will be the leaders in their communities." They in turn could try to prepare their communities for integration in the public schools.

CRIES OF WOE

Part of the campaign, inspired by the administration and carried on by the whole press, to undercut the precedent set by the use of troops in Little Rock, is to try to convince the public that it is a terrible tragedy. As the Nation magazine (Oct. 5) points out: ". . . even more amazing is the somber tragic note which echoes in most of the editorial and other comment on Little Rock. 'Tragedy in the Sunshine' writes Stewart Alsop; 'a national disaster,' intones Adlai Stevenson; 'The Tragedy of Little Rock,' sighs the Wall Street Journal. . . . Little Rock is surely no tragedy for the gallant Mrs. L. C. Bates who heads the NAACP in Arkansas, nor for the Negro children now enrolled and attending Central High. . . . The real tragedy, if tragedy we must find, is that Negroes were not admitted there long ago, without troops."

But the Wall Street government and its press will keep crying "tragedy" in the forlorn hope that it will build up public sentiment against sending of federal troops next time they are needed. In the meantime top policy makers are busily trying to work out some new arrangement that will prevent the re-occurence of showdowns, like Little Rock, and thus avoid the national and international pressure on Washington for sending troops.

First casualty of the federal troops in Little Rock was the Southern Manifesto and its doctrine of interposition. Into the prominence theretofore occupied by Byrnes, Talmadge, Griffin, Eastland et al, the architects of that strategy, have now stepped Gov. Collins of Florida, Gov. Hodges of North Carolina and Gov. Clement of Tennessee. These are the so-called Southern moderates. The White House and the Northern press have been giving them a big build-up. A new national policy on school desegregation is being cooked up with them. Needless to say it is a policy of compromises — and the compromises are at the expense of the Negro schoolchildren.

Next week these Southern "moderates" and their program for getting around the Supreme Court decision will be examined.

...SPUTNIK DISMAYS U. S. MILITARISTS

(Continued from page 1)

assault on the Soviet Union to a still later time.

A little more than two years ago, on July 30, 1955, Eisenhower announced plans for the construction of a man-made satellite to circle the earth. He called it a "project for peace." The Militant of Aug. 8, 1955, exposed the project as a "super-weapon experiment." We quoted the military expert of the N. Y. Times, Hanson W. Baldwin, who glowingly described the project as laying the basis for intercontinental ballistic missiles which could "expose — literally — virtually all the cities on earth to almost instantaneous destruction. . ."

Now, the Soviet Union has actually beaten mighty U.S. capitalism to the punch.

When the Soviet Union so quickly caught up with the American nuclear weapons, the American rulers could not admit that a non-capitalist country was capable of developing atomic devices by itself. They raised a witch-hunt about "spies" and even went to the length of legal murder in the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. How does it happen that the Soviet Union has now achieved the first conquest of outer space? Spies?

Let an ardent pro-imperialism columnist speak. William V. Shannon, writing in the Oct. 7 N.Y. Post, points out, "This latest Soviet triumph should at least kill the silly notion that the Russians have the atomic bomb and other devices because they 'stole the secret' from us. They could not have stolen the solutions to earth satellite problems from us because we do not yet have those solutions."

The minds of America's rulers are whirring furiously, trying to figure out how they can trump the Soviet ace. Their war plans are once again disrupted but they have no intention of giving up their aims of world domination. Their panic and frenzy are measured not by any fear of external aggression but by the inexorable compulsion of internal crisis.

Ludwell Denny, Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor, on Oct. 8 reported "American prestige lower than at any time since World War II." The Soviet satellite, he said, is only the fourth recent shock to European opinion. The first was the Soviet intercontinental rocket. "Then in rapid succession came denunciation of American Mideast policy by the friendly Arab governments and the Little Rock catastrophe."

These, in turn, reflect the deep-going contradictions of American capitalism. The issue of school integration by itself has precipitated a veritable political crisis. While inflation mounts, the boom is grinding to a halt. Only those shares on the stock market showed signs of life in the past two days which are connected with missiles manufacture — "a sputnik market," as one daily called it.

More War Spending

Capitalism has no real solution for its inherent contradictions. Its answer is more war spending, more debt, more inflation. The Democrats smelling an issue, are taking the lead in calling for greater and greater military appropriations. Demands are being trumpeted by Senators and Congressmen for all-out war spending and damn the deficit. They propose to bleed the people white to regain military — that is, world-destroying — superiority.

Many well-intentioned people may be taken in by an apparent new willingness on the part of the Eisenhower Administration to shift its foreign policy more in the direction of "peaceful coexistence."

American imperialism will play for time. But it will not change its aims and it cannot forever repress the internal forces that drive it toward world conflict. The tiny class of ruling capitalists, with their political and military agents, cannot be trusted to maintain the peace. Their control over the new mighty engines of destruction must be ended. **The people — with the working class in the lead — must take the road of genuine independent political action and assume control of this country's destiny. Peace lies not in a bigger and better sputnik, but in a Workers and Farmers Government in America.**

THE MILITANT

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How to Waste Your Vote

An Editorial

In an Oct. 7 speech to the Bronx County Committee of the Liberal Party, Alex Rose, president of the AFL-CIO Hatworkers' union and a leading spokesman for the Liberal Party, gave a perfect example of how labor and the Negro people can most effectively defeat their own ends.

Rose told the Bronx Committee: "A large vote for the Wagner ticket on the Liberal line will insure a greater degree of independence from machine influence for the Wagner administration and will further the realization of many progressive and social objectives."

Let's leave aside for the moment the tacit admission made here by Rose that Wagner is a creature of "machine influence." (He is owned lock, stock and barrel by Tammany Hall, but Rose and the other Liberal party officials don't like to use that dirty word.)

A CASE IN POINT

Let's just take a look at this time-worn theory that "progressive and social objectives" can be realized by supporting a capitalist politician like Wagner. The present fight for passage of the Sharkey-Isaacs-Brown bill to ban Jim Crow in private housing provides a perfect example of how this theory works in practice.

When this bill was first introduced in the City Council, Mayor Wagner announced his full, enthusiastic support for it and assured everyone that it would become law in record time.

But once Wagner had the support of the Liberal party sewed up along with that of the bulk of the official leaders of the labor and Negro movement, his tune quickly changed. It became painfully clear that now his stand on the bill was that of doing nothing to offend the real estate gang which kicked off a powerful drive to kill the bill.

After all, once he had the support of the labor and Negro leaders in his pocket, why should he stick his neck out for them? It's far smarter to make your pitch for those whose votes remain in doubt — in this case the votes controlled by the rent sharks who are determined to maintain the lucrative ghetto housing system in New York.

Those who want to put some real heat on the capitalist politicians to compel them to grant some of the demands of the working people of this city will not try to do so by handing their votes to the very officials they are trying to put the heat on.

Instead, those, who are fighting for passage of a law to knock Jim Crow out of New York housing will cast their vote for the one mayoralty candidate who is stumping for the passage of such a law. **That's Joyce Cowley, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.**

Cleveland Meet Hears Ben Davis

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Oct. 6—In reply to questions from the audience at a public meeting here last night, Communist Party National Committeeman Ben Davis stated that his party advocates independent political action, runs its own candidates in elections where possible, advocates a labor party based on the unions—and advises workers to function in both the Democratic and Republican parties.

If that reply was contradictory, his answer to the next question was no more direct. He was asked whether he favors Communist Party members in the unions working together with all socialists and other militant workers to demand that the labor movement give active support to the struggle against segregation in the South.

EITHER — OR

He said that the Communist Party does favor working "with other groups and individuals" in the unions for such objectives—or independently, "in such manner as it thinks best."

Main emphasis in the Communist Party program for the struggle in the South was indicated in resolutions calling on Eisenhower to keep troops in Little Rock as long as necessary to assure that the Negro children would attend school, and calling on Cleveland's Mayor Celebrezze to intervene in local segregation. No resolutions calling on the AFL-CIO to take action supporting the fight against Jim Crow were proposed.

The meeting, held under the auspices of the Cleveland Anti-Discrimination Committee, was attended by 80 persons. This was the largest public meeting to hear a Communist Party speaker in several years.

Campaigning for Socialism

FRANK BARBARIA and JOAN JORDAN, the two socialist candidates for Supervisors in San Francisco.

NAACP Rally in Chicago Opens Membership Drive

By Howard Mayhew

CHICAGO, Oct. 6 — The NAACP in this city remains determined to "return to Calumet Park," declared Willoughby Abner, its president, addressing a mass meeting tonight which overflowed the main auditorium of the Metropolitan Community Church. The rally was the public kickoff for the NAACP drive to enroll 20,000 new members in this city. **In making this declaration, Abner was reiterating his stand that the temporary victory of Chicago racists in driving Negroes from Calumet Park could not be tolerated.**

"The acts of violence against Negroes in Chicago," Abner said, "are so great in extent and frequency that it is necessary to organize a broad campaign to make Chicago democratic. And I mean 'democratic' with a small 'd,'" Abner added.

Reporting that Mayor Daley has been dodging demands for an unequivocal statement on Chicago Jim Crow, Abner declared, "I'm not talking about a statement deploring violence after it occurs. I mean a statement taking up specifically the need to enforce equal rights in housing, schools, parks and all public places."

Charles Hayes, district director of the United Packinghouse Workers, pledged the full support of his union to the NAACP membership drive.

Gus Courts, the heroic NAACP fighter from Mississippi took a bow from an audience deeply appreciative of his courageous record in the struggle.

Roy Wilkins, national executive secretary of the NAACP urged full support to the membership drive in preparation for what he declared "may be the final battle." Describing the moves of the White Citizens Councils to gain strength in the North, he said, "but never before were you so important . . . never before did you have so much power."

San Francisco SWP Nominees Address Unions

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 5 — The Socialist candidates for Supervisor, Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, are carrying their campaign to all sections of the public in their bid for office. They have spoken before numerous union meetings, civic clubs, political clubs, and other organizations.

"We view our running for office as a step in the direction of independent political action. If we as socialists can get a good vote it will show that the trade unions, organized politically on a labor program, could win office," declared Frank Barbaria.

"There are many areas of government where labor should demand and get a bigger proportion of members on various boards and commissions," he continued. "The only representation from labor and the minority peoples is in the form of window dressing—that is, one or two at most for each board and in many cases none. The working people of the city are the vast majority. Instead of token representation they should have the majority on the boards and commissions to put forward their ideas for civic development."

"Our best service in this election," said Mrs. Jordan, "is to make the working people aware of the double-dealing regular machine politicians who operate the Democratic and Republican parties. We are running in this campaign to help break the stranglehold of the two-party system. We hope to show that independent candidates can win a substantial vote. But more important than that is to expose capitalist politics as a con-game played on the working people.

On Saturday, Oct. 12, the Campaign Committee for Barbaria and Jordan will sponsor a meeting on the dangers of atomic fall-out. L. Kelley Mayhew, authority on the effects and hazards of radiation fall-out, will describe in detail the dangers to mankind of unrestricted atomic weapons testing. Carl Fine will present the socialist answer to the radiation hazards. The candidates will explain what the voters of San Francisco can do to halt further weapons testing and the related danger of air and soil pollution due to fall-out.

"We think the people of San Francisco and the country should have the right to determine whether weapons testing should continue or not," said Barbaria. "A referendum vote would give the people a chance to express their opinion and decide their own fate. It would halt the little clique in Washington that has the gall to say they know what is best for the people."

Petition for Sobell Given to High Court

OCT. 7 — A "friend-of-the-cuort" brief (amicus curiae) was filled today with the Supreme Court by three West Coast attorneys on behalf of about 5,300 Americans. The petitioners asked the court to grant a review of the case of Morton Sobell who is serving his 8th year in Alcatraz on a 30-year sentence. Sobell was framed up on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage" with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg at the height of the witch hunt. His attorneys point out that in addition to fraudulent evidence used by the government to convict Sobel, the Supreme Court's recent decision on the Fifth Amendment entitles him to a new trial.

N.Y. Youth Forum Hears Left-Wing Vote Choices

By Martha Wohlforth

Four socialists gave four different answers to the question "What Choice for the Left in the City Elections" in a symposium sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, Oct. 8. The YSA, recently organized by supporters of the Young Socialist Forum is dedicated to building a broad, independent and militant youth movement.

The speakers were Michael Gural, Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation; Joyce Cowley, mayoralty candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Tim Wohlforth, managing editor of the Young Socialist; and Milton Zaslow of the Committee for Socialist Unity. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Communist Party candidate for City Council, declined an invitation to participate. **The Flynn campaign committee turned down a request for a substitute speaker, stating that they were "finding it necessary to concentrate virtually all our time to the 24th District."**

Michael Gural declined to give a preference in the New York City elections. He expressed the view that it was "unhealthy" for the socialist movement to base itself exclusively on the working class.

Joyce Cowley said that the only practical way to solve the real problems facing the people of New York City—slum housing, segregated neighborhoods and schools, low wages—was to put the city under a labor administration. "The solution to all basic issues today," she said, "depends on the working people organizing their own party to take power." In the absence of a mass working-class party, "the Socialist Workers Party is taking the first step."

BACKS SWP SLATE

Tim Wohlforth said that the question "Who shall rule" was decisive for young people. On the answer to that question depends the solution to the basic issues — war, police brutality, academic freedom, segregation. These questions are not being discussed by the capitalist parties. "The working class needs its own political party, just as it needs its own unions. A labor party is just as realistic today as the building of the CIO was twenty years ago." He said that he personally supports the SWP slate and urged all socialist youth to vote for socialist candidates of their choice.

Milton Zaslow urged a vote for both the CP and the SWP candidates, but had criticisms of both parties. The CP, by its scuttling of the American Labor Party and its reaction to the events in the Soviet orbit, has been "terribly and fatally compromised," he said. **The SWP cannot carry the banner for the left, either, claims Zaslow, because so many left-wingers regard it as a "sterile, messianic sect." However, unlike the CP, it "carries no moral stigma" and has emerged "on the side of socialist morality, truth and justice."**

Militant Readers In Ohio Sponsor Successful Picnic

YOUNGSTOWN — The lamb barbecue sponsored by Ohio Militant Readers at the home of the United Cultural Association on Sept. 15 was a rousing success. Well over a hundred people attended from various parts of the state, as well as from neighboring Pennsylvania areas and from Buffalo.

Those present listened with interest and enthusiasm to brief speeches by representatives of the United Cultural Association, the Cleveland Taft-Hartley "Conspiracy" case and the Militant Readers group.

Delicious food was served and much appreciated by those present. A group from Buffalo put on a skit and another group from Cleveland led in spirited community singing.

All profits from the affair, including the raffle and auction held during the day, were turned over to the United Cultural Association and to the defense of the Cleveland Taft-Hartley victims.

The United Cultural Association, whose members have lent themselves to progressive causes, has been under fire by the House Un-American Activities Committee. It is actively involved at present in a local civil liberties case. **The Cleveland Taft-Hartley case represents a dangerous effort by the Federal government to frame up labor militants on the charge of "conspiring to violate the T-H "non-Communist" affidavit.**

An Evening With Levittown's Freedom Fighters

By Henry Gitano

The flag of the Confederacy flies over Levittown, Pa., reinforced by Molotov cocktails, cross burnings, window smashings, frenzied mobs, telephone threats, intimidation by auto caravans and shuffling parades. All because one Negro family moved into the community nine weeks ago.

Entering the model town, I rode past long rows of neat ranch-style homes, 25 miles northeast of Philadelphia to the home of William and Daisy Myers — pioneers in breaking through the lily-white line.

Mrs. Myers is a former teacher, Mr. Myers is a laboratory technician at Trenton, who heard of this house through white friends. The family had grown to five and needed more room. The seller was willing, and the neighbors were friendly. Mr. Myers pointed to a picture window that had been smashed in before his arrival and told me: "I definitely do not plan to leave. I think this neighborhood will change. I just painted the garage but haven't got to the cinder blocks yet."

MANY FRIENDS

A white couple arrived; the husband, director of a nearby settlement house, said: "We're the baby sitters." The Meyers with two young boys and a two month baby, had changed their plans, they weren't going out after all. Myers discussing the racist mob, said: **"I doubt if there were 100 Levittown troublemakers in that crowd; that speaks for a very small percentage. On the other hand it was inspiring to see how many friends rallied to my defense. I felt it was unnecessary but the people themselves decided they want to stay through the night and give us protection. Most people here live in fear. The Township police joked with the racist crowd, encouraging them." After conferences with state officials, state troopers have taken over. Even so, cops assigned to guard the Wechsler home "did not see" racists defacing the house on Sept. 25.**

The telephone rang. A friend called saying they received threats from segregationist hooligans that if their daughter played with the Myers children again, a cross burning would take place. The Myers telephone is unlisted and the number on the face of it is covered up. Discussing their many new friends, Myers said: "They don't classify us as Negroes but as human beings. They feel everyone should have an equal opportunity." On parting from the Myers another reporter said: "We'll leave you to your peace." Mr. Myers replied: "We have no peace."

At the adjoining house I saw KKK smeared in foot high letters, in addition there was a giant frame with a note: "Dear Sir, Thank you for being a good neighbor. The enclosed is for some paint to help cover somebody's dirty work on your house." This was the home of Lewis and Beatrice Wechsler, who are openly friendly with the Myers. The Wechslers explained that the note from a local friend was substituted for the poster left by Kluxers which showed a black monster smirking at a white woman, with the caption: "We're right here in Levittown. We're watching every move you make."

Mr. Wechsler told me: "When Myers moved in, most of Levittown went about its business. There are 60,000 people here, the bulk of the community is not interested in demonstrations or violence." While Lou was talking, he was interrupted by consultations over the phone, people were coming and going, it was evident, the Wechslers were not alone.

Lou, who is a machinist in Trenton, explained that "this is organized violence by underground groups, there is nothing spontaneous about it. Any half-witted private detective could get a conviction against the organizers. But the officials are unwilling to prosecute." The telephone rang and Lou wrote down the names and phone numbers of the men and women who would stand guard that night. Hanging up, he said: "People I never heard of before; it's wonderful."

IT BEGINS WITH LEVITT

"I'll tell you something" said Lou, while we were eating rice and meatballs, "to get the real story, you have to see William Levitt. He built this whole town, with the clear understanding that Negroes would be kept out." Lou told Nicky, his athlete son: "It's about time to light the Christmas tree." There was a bitter smile on Lou's powerful face while Nicky pulled the switch, and the lights went on outside the house; for darkness meant danger.

While the racist mobsters were few, the cowed and meek were many. I asked Mrs. Wechsler, formerly a waitress and currently a bookkeeper what made her a frontline fighter. With defiance in her eyes, she said: **"I am not going to let some scum drive me out. I was very upset when they burnt a cross in front of our house. But you reach a point where you get mad. It's much better to be mad than scared. I used to cringe when this first started, now I look them in the eye and feel I could spit." I was told how Mrs. Wechsler had previously led the successful battle to get mass Salk vaccinations for Levittown.**

The Wechsler's 14-year-old daughter Kathy has maintained a steadfast position that "I'm not leaving till I graduate, and nobody better bother me." She's a cheer leader and her enthusiasm is infectious. Her brother Nick's teacher is Donald Burton, the first Negro teacher assigned to Levittown. The school, less than one mile from the Myers' home, was integrated this term with about 100 Negroes from other parts of the township assigned to the 1,000-student school. "I expected some antagonism, but there wasn't any," said Mr. Burton.

It was dark outside, a bunch of kids at the Wechslers ran out into the yard. Lou's face showed the strain of eight weeks harassment. He wanted the kids inside, yet he did not want to scare the fearless children. Lou was weary, but there was no peace for the weary. A phone call from friends at the edge of town, whose tires were recently slashed while a seven-foot cross burnt 18 inches from where they slept, reported confederate-flag-bedecked cars near their residence and a wild party of racists near their house.

One of the fellows told of the racist who suggested boycotting the fuel oil company that services the Myers. He was countered with: "In that case I'll have to cancel my water, gas and electricity, and give up my citizenship too." They talked of the Prestons, living near the Wechslers, who had a cross burnt because they were "too neutral." Four jars with gasoline, capped with a cotton fuse, were also found near their home. VA repossessed homes up for sale are being plastered with "niggers keep out." A white family who gave a crib to a Negro friend was threatened by a mob gathered in front of their house.

Forming the apex of a triangle, whose base is formed by the Myer and Wechsler homes, is the house with the confederate flag. Its inmates refused to speak to this reporter. Fifty persons were evicted from there last week. Crowds had been gathering nightly, blaring "Old Black Joe" incessantly, the windows facing the Myers and Wechslers were wide open and the noise was deafening. The owner, William Hughes, was cited for violation of a zoning law, but the racist flag was still waving and Hughes was told the charge would be dismissed if he cleared out his "clubhouse."

Lou told me of ads supporting Myers which were signed in mass—this, said he "took not merely conscience, but also courage." Two ads appeared in the Levittown Times Aug. 23 and 24 with 500 names and addresses of Levittown residents. This "Declaration of Conscience" deplored "all acts of violence and intimidation against the Myers family." The American Jewish Congress, Plymouth Congregational Church, YMCA and others placed stronger ads supporting Myers. Quakers shared a full page ad with a "Declaration of Concern . . . Demonstrations of racial and religious bigotry have no place in our community." A racist ad ended with: "Mr Myers . . . go back where you came from."

During a mass meeting Bernard Bell who lives across the street from the Negro family drove his car over his lawn to chase the mobsters away. He said they were violating the Myers' right to live where they wanted "and my right to sleep." The Myers, the Wechslers, the Bells, the men and women on guard in the night—they are the pioneers who suffer and fight so that Levittown and the U.S.A. will be a better place for all of us to live in.

KKK Meets Gunfire In North Carolina

Gunfire greeted a Ku Klux Klan motorcade invading the Negro section of Monroe, North Carolina the night of Oct. 4. None of the Negroes, who expected the Klansmen, were injured in the exchange of shots as the motorcade retreated. Dr. Albert E. Perry Jr., vice president of the local NAACP said 25 to 30 militant members of the Negro community were on call around the-clock to protect the community from racist terror in the wake of a drive to integrate the town's swimming pool. Police recently searched Perry's house but found no weapons.

New York Socialist Workers Party Candidates on TV and Radio

JOYCE COWLEY ON TV
Sunday, October 27
2 P.M.
Citizens Union Searchlight Interview
WRCA — Channel 4

LILLIAN KIEZEL ON RADIO
Tuesday, October 22
10:05 to 10:30 P.M.
Round Table Discussion on The New York City Council
WRCA — 660 on the dial

JOYCE COWLEY ON RADIO
Sunday, October 20
9 to 9:30 P.M.
Campus Press Conference Program
WNYC — 830 on Dial
Wednesday, October 23
10 P.M. to 12:30 A.M.
Central Queens Allied Civic Council Program
WRCA — 660 on the dial
Monday, October 28
11:20 P.M. to 12:15 A.M.
Tex and Jinx Show
WRCA — 660 on Dial

Calendar Of Events

Detroit

Sat., Oct. 19, from 6:30 P.M. on—A Spaghetti Dinner and Social.

Fri., Oct. 25, 8 P.M. — "The Future of American Socialism." A talk by Murry Weiss.

Both events at 3737 Woodward.

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Cleveland

Sat., Oct. 19, 8 P.M. — "The Future of American Socialism." Speaker—Murry Weiss. Militant Forum. 10609 Superior Ave.

●

San Francisco

Wed., Oct. 30, 8 P.M.—Socialist Election Rally. Chairman: Warren K. Billings. Speakers: Vincent Hallinan, and Socialist Candidates for Supervisor Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan. I. L. W. U. Bldg., 150 Golden Gate Ave. Ausp.: Citizens Committee for Barbaria and Jordan.

●

New York

Sat., Oct.18, 8:15 P.M. — Socialist Workers election meeting and social. Morris Zuckoff, candidate for Comptroller speaks on "role of Socialists in Election Campaigns." Alvin Berman, write-in candidate for Brooklyn Borough President discusses why the Tammany machine in Brooklyn got him ruled off the ballot. Dancing and refreshments after meeting.

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The October Revolution	1.00
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The New Course	.50

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